

# Roll Call

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## The motivations behind the inclusion of women on the Canterbury Roll

*'This dissertation is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of BA Honours in History at the University of Canterbury. This dissertation is the result of my own work. Material from the published or unpublished work of other historians used in the dissertation is credited to the author in the footnote references. The dissertation is approximately 9360 words in length.'*

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Supervised by Dr. Chris Jones

Category One

HIST480

2016



## **Abstract**

Gender has been largely overlooked in the study of political ideas and their representation on genealogical chronicle rolls. One such roll, the Canterbury Roll, is housed at the University of Canterbury. Dating from the fifteenth-century, the five-metre long parchment features a genealogy of the kings of England, and was constructed to support the claims to the throne made by contemporary kings. It traces the lineage of the contemporary ruler Edward IV, through mythical kings such as Arthur, to the biblical figure of Noah. Over the approximately fifty years during which it was written, the Roll was subject to editing, as various political events influenced its content. This dissertation examines the women who feature on the Canterbury Roll, in both its original and edited form, in order to understand the place of women in the contemporary political context. It compares the written text of the roll with the chronicle histories on which its compilers drew, in order to determine the motivations behind the women's inclusion. Four scribal hands are identified in this dissertation, and three of those hands are used as historical tools to uncover the motivations behind the inclusion of women. Each scribal hand reveals a different political motivation, and women were included on the Roll to shape the contemporary audience's political perceptions. This dissertation reveals that women who conformed to a contemporary feminine ideal were celebrated while those who did not conform were portrayed negatively.



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## **Acknowledgments**

My sincere thanks to Maree Shiota, University of Heidelberg, for her assistance with the identification of numeral occurrences and Yorkist additions on other fifteenth-century genealogical chronicles rolls.

My thanks also extend to Damian Cairns, Special Collections Librarian at the University of Canterbury, for facilitating my access to the Rare Books collection, enabling me to view and photograph the Canterbury Roll. All photographs included in this dissertation are reproduced with permission.





## A Note on Translation

All of the Canterbury Roll's marginal history excerpts featured in this dissertation are translations from Arnold Wall's 1919 *The Handbook to the Maude Roll*.<sup>1</sup> References, where applicable, refer to the verse numbers assigned by Wall. A revised translation is currently being prepared by Maree Shirota.

The names in this dissertation are not anglicised, keeping with the form in which they appear in Wall's text. When applicable, the anglicised version of the name is noted.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll: Being a XVth century MS Genealogy of the British and English Kings from Noah to Edward IV, with Marginal History*, trans. A. Wall, Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1919.



## Introduction

Women in fifteenth-century England operated within a patriarchal society. Rarely seen as women of their own standing, they were viewed as mothers, wives, and daughters of men. Indeed, only widows had individual standing in the eyes of the law, and this status was lost if they remarried.<sup>2</sup> If women were perceived to be overstepping their place in society, they were roundly criticised.<sup>3</sup> In addition, if they were a well-known figure they were often discredited by chroniclers. Conversely, queens were celebrated by contemporary chroniclers if they conformed to the societal expectations of being subordinate to their husbands, and successfully raising a child. Overall, women were viewed as intellectually and emotionally inferior to men.<sup>4</sup> This view of women is exhibited throughout the Canterbury Roll.

The Canterbury Roll is a fifteenth-century genealogical chronicle roll. It is a genealogy of the kings of England, and traces Edward IV's line, through mythical kings such as Arthur, and Anglo-Saxon gods such as Woden, back to the biblical figure of Noah. It is approximately thirty centimetres wide, and reaches a length of approximately five metres.<sup>5</sup> It contains roundels connected by lines which convey succession, and features marginal text on either side of the pictorial genealogy. Each individual roundel contains the name of either the king, queen, members of their kin, or members of the nobility. The rulers of England feature on the central succession line. Their length of reign as recorded by the original Roll-maker and/or a subsequent editor is also included in the roundels, in Hindu-Arabic and/or Roman numeral form. The marginal text references and elaborates on the figures represented by the roundels. The text was compiled by the Roll-maker from various chronicles. Arnold Wall, the Roll's modern editor, identified the authors of the chronicles consulted as Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Gerald of Wales, William of Newburgh, Roger of Hovedon, and Ranulph Higden.<sup>6</sup> Through the pictorial and literal depictions of the genealogy, the contemporary rulers were able to assert their right to the throne

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<sup>2</sup> J. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, London, Longman, 1992, pp. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> J. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> M. Erler, and M. Kowaleski, 'Introduction', in M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (ed.), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1988, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> C. Jones, 'Remembering the Past', in C. Jones, B. Matthews, and J. Clement (ed.), *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2011, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> A. Wall, 'Introduction' in A. Wall (ed.), *Handbook to the Maude Roll: Being a XVth Century MS. Genealogy of the British and English Kings from Noah to Edward IV., with a marginal history*, trans. A. Wall, Auckland, Whitcombe & Tombs Limited, 1919, n.p.

by linking themselves to legitimate royal families, as well as successful kings. Women were included on the Roll to help achieve this aim. Originally, the Roll ended with Henry V, however a gap was left at the end of the Roll presumably for the inclusion of Henry VI, the contemporary king. However, the Roll was never completed by the Original Scribe, as demonstrated by the roundels included, but left unused, on the Roll.<sup>7</sup> It was subsequently edited by a later scribe to extend the Roll to Edward IV, a scribe who translated the years ruled, from Hindu-Arabic form to Roman numerals, and a scribe who added in missing titles accorded to the nobles.<sup>8</sup>

Four hands have been identified on the Canterbury Roll. The original Roll-maker collated the information to appear on the Canterbury Roll, and the Original Scribe transferred this information on to the Roll sometime between 1429 and 1433.<sup>9</sup> Following on from the Original Scribe's work, sometime between 1433 and 1461,<sup>10</sup> the Roman Numerals Editor added Roman numerals to the majority of the roundels throughout the Roll, denoting regnal years. The Roll was adjusted by the Yorkist Editor nearly thirty years after the Original Scribe's work,<sup>11</sup> to prove that Edward IV was the rightful heir to the throne. The last scribe, the Margaret Editor, worked after 1483, and added Margaret of York's title and the years of Edward IV's reign.<sup>12</sup> While Wall noted the existence of the Original Scribe and the Yorkist Editor,<sup>13</sup> and Chris Jones detected the Margaret Editor's hand,<sup>14</sup> scholars have not previously uncovered the presence of the Roman Numerals Editor, whose existence I establish here for the first time.<sup>15</sup>

The Canterbury Roll is a piece of political propaganda created during a period of political upheaval. The composition of the Roll spanned approximately fifty-six years, from 1429 to 1485. This period both predates, and encompasses, the English civil wars known as the Wars of the Roses. As a result, both the Lancastrian Henry VI and the Yorkist Edward IV could use this Roll to assert legitimate claims to the throne at its different stages of editing. The fact the Roll was altered to support Edward IV when he became king reflects a shift in contemporary

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<sup>7</sup> Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix A for this proof.

<sup>9</sup> M. Shiota, 'Unrolling History: Fifteenth-Century Political Culture and Perceptions on the Canterbury Roll', unpublished MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 2015, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> This is the time period in between the final possible date for the Original Scribe's work, and the possible start date for the Yorkist Editor's work.

<sup>11</sup> R. Rouse, 'Inscribing Lineage: Writing and Rewriting the Maude Roll', in S. Hollis and A. Barratt (ed.), *Migrations: Medieval Manuscripts in New Zealand*, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, p. 234, n. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, n.p.

<sup>14</sup> Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, pp. 89, 234, n. 6.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix A for this proof.

political ideas.

The mid-fifteenth century saw royal women's involvement in the public sphere increasing. One way that the changes in political concepts are able to be measured is through an examination of the inclusion and treatment of the ninety-one women that feature on the Roll.<sup>16</sup> This dissertation seeks to understand why these women were included, as it was not every wife, not every queen, and not every daughter that appeared. This suggests that the women were selectively picked by the Roll-maker in order to fit an agenda.

## Historiography

The Canterbury Roll has been the subject of numerous publications.<sup>17</sup> After its acquisition in 1918 by Canterbury College, the Roll was researched and translated in 1919 by Arnold Wall.<sup>18</sup> Following this publication, which introduced the Roll to the academic world, much of the scholarship discussing the Roll partly focused on its connection to colonial New Zealand.<sup>19</sup> The mid-twentieth century saw an emergence of historians, such as Alison Allan and Sydney Anglo, examining fifteenth-century English genealogical chronicle rolls,<sup>20</sup> focussing on genealogical chronicle rolls and their relation to propaganda and royal dynasties. Allan identified the Canterbury Roll when discussing Yorkist propaganda, and included the Roll in a group of genealogical chronicle rolls which she labelled the 'Noah' rolls.<sup>21</sup> Recent years have seen Jones, Oliver de Laborderie, Marigold Norbye, and Maree Shiota examining genealogical chronicle rolls to discover what they reveal about the contemporary society,<sup>22</sup> with Jones and

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix C for a table of the women featured on the Canterbury Roll.

<sup>17</sup> See R. Hayward, 'Prestige and Pedagogy: The Ownership of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts by New Zealand Universities', in S. Hollis and A. Barratt (ed.), *Migrations: Medieval Manuscripts in New Zealand*, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, pp. 89–107; Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, pp. 85–90; Rouse, *Migrations*, pp. 108–122; Shiota, 'Unrolling History'; M. Shiota, 'Royal depositions and the 'Canterbury Roll'', *Parergon*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2015, pp. 39–61.

<sup>18</sup> See Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*.

<sup>19</sup> See Hayward, *Migrations*, pp. 89–107; Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, pp. 85–90; Rouse, *Migrations*, pp. 108–122.

<sup>20</sup> See A. Allan, 'Political Propaganda Employed by the House of York in England in the Mid-Fifteenth Century, 1450–1471', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Wales, 1981; A. Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the "British History" in the Reign of Edward IV', in C. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, Gloucester, Rowman & Littlefield, 1979, pp. 171–192; S. Anglo, 'The British History in Early Tudor Propaganda', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester*, vol. 44, 1961, pp. 17–48.

<sup>21</sup> Allan, 'Political Propaganda Employed by the House of York in England in the Mid-Fifteenth Century, 1450–1471', p. 264.

<sup>22</sup> See O. de Laborderie, 'A New Pattern for English History: The First Genealogical Rolls of the Kings of England', in R. Radelescu and E. Kennedy (ed.), *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 45–61; Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, pp. 85–90;

Shirota focusing their studies on the Canterbury Roll.<sup>23</sup> This dissertation continues this trend by examining the women included on the Roll to see what their inclusion reflects about the contemporary views on women.

The representation of women in the fifteenth century has not, to date, been examined in connection with the development of political thought. Traditionally, histories focussed on the men who featured in the battles and the political happenings of this time.<sup>24</sup> As social and women's histories grew popular, largely in the latter half the twentieth century,<sup>25</sup> women's lives came under scrutiny. The majority of these studies appear as biographies,<sup>26</sup> or as part of a sweeping narrative covering multiple centuries.<sup>27</sup> So far these studies have revealed that women are often not as invisible as previously assumed. More closely related to women and their representation are the works of scholars such as Fiona Tolhurst. Tolhurst, for example, traced the development of Arthurian women through various chronicles.<sup>28</sup> Another is Candice Larson, who recently completed a master's thesis examining contemporary perceptions of aristocratic women during the Wars of the Roses.<sup>29</sup> This dissertation adopts a similar approach to Larson, but focusses on the period leading up to, and covering the first half of, the Wars of the Roses. More specifically, gender and genealogical chronicle rolls has been the focus of two studies to date, one by Joan Holladay and the other by Judith Collard.<sup>30</sup> As their studies focussed on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century rolls, the Canterbury Roll, constructed in the fifteenth-century, was not included in their studies. In addition, the women who are included

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M. Norbye, 'Genealogies and dynastic awareness in the Hundred Years War: The evidence of *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2007, pp. 297–319; Shirota, *Parergon*, pp. 39–61.

<sup>23</sup> See Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, pp. 85–90; Shirota, *Parergon*, pp. 39–61.

<sup>24</sup> Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> For the emergence of women's history see E. Hobsbawm, *On History*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1997, p. 71; for the emergence of social history see Hobsbawm, *On History*, p. 73.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1991; J. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995; C. Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446–1503*, New York, St. Martins Press, 1989.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, S. Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, revised edn, Abingdon, Routledge, 2003; H. Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450–1500*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995.

<sup>28</sup> See F. Tolhurst, 'The Once and Future Queen: The Development of Guenevere from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Malory', *Biographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society*, vol. 50, 1998, pp. 272–308.

<sup>29</sup> C. Larson, 'Victims and Viragos: Contemporary Perceptions of Women during the Wars of the Roses', unpublished MA Thesis, University of West Georgia, 2015.

<sup>30</sup> See J. Holladay, 'Women in English Royal Genealogies of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries', in E. Lane, E. Pastan, E. Shortell and M. Caviness (ed.), *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009, pp. 348–364; J. Collard, 'Gender and Genealogy in English Illuminated Royal Genealogical Rolls from the Thirteenth Century', *Parergon*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2000, pp. 11–34.

and excluded on the Canterbury Roll differ to those studied by Collard and Holladay. Furthermore, neither of the studies examined women in terms of what they reflect about the contemporary society.

Medieval political thought has only recently been examined in terms of its representation on genealogical chronicle rolls. Prior to this approach, political thought was examined through the use of more traditional source material.<sup>31</sup> Shiota was the first to use genealogical chronicle rolls to identify political thought in her master's thesis which examined deposition on the Canterbury Roll.<sup>32</sup> This dissertation adds to this emerging field as it is the first to use the inclusion and exclusion of women on the Canterbury Roll to examine fifteenth-century English political ideas.

## Methodology

This dissertation builds upon previously established methods of examining medieval political thought. The traditional canon of medieval political thought features the works of Anthony Black, Joseph Canning and Walter Ullmann.<sup>33</sup> In works published by these authors, political thought is examined through the use of traditional source materials, such as the work of medieval intellectuals. Following the publishing of these works, a new trend emerged, which saw non-traditional source materials, such as chronicles, being studied in an attempt to uncover medieval political thought.<sup>34</sup> One example of such an approach can be seen with Jones, who employed the use of chronicles while exploring French perceptions of the concept of a universal ruler in late medieval Europe.<sup>35</sup> In 2015, Shiota used genealogical chronicle rolls to explore political culture, while examining deposition on the Canterbury Roll.<sup>36</sup> This

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<sup>31</sup> A. Black, *Political Thought in Europe 1250–1450*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992; J. Canning, *A history of medieval political thought, 300–1450*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Abingdon, Routledge, 2005; W. Ullmann, *Medieval Political Thought*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1975.

<sup>32</sup> Shiota, 'Unrolling History'.

<sup>33</sup> Black, *Political Thought in Europe 1250–1450*; Canning, *A history of medieval political thought, 300–1450*; Ullmann, *Medieval Political Thought*.

<sup>34</sup> This is apparent in the recent publishing of several academic books concerning chronicles. See, for example, L. Coote and J. Holladay, 'Genealogical rolls and charts', in G. Dumphy (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden, Brill, 2010, pp. 672–677; O. de Laborde, 'Genealogical Chronicles in Anglo-Norman', in G. Dumphy (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden, Brill, 2010, pp. 668–669; E. Kennedy and R. Radulescu, 'Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin', in G. Dumphy (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden, Brill, 2010, pp. 669–671; C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England*, Hambledon, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004; de Laborde, *Broken Lines*, pp. 45–61.

<sup>35</sup> See C. Jones, *Eclipse of Empire?: perceptions of the western empire and its rulers in late-medieval France*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007.

<sup>36</sup> See Shiota, 'Unrolling History'; Shiota, *Parergon*, pp. 39–61.

dissertation employs a similar methodology, using the Canterbury Roll to explore the underlying political ideas present in fifteenth-century England. Furthermore, Shirota compared the mythical and historical elements of the Roll in order to draw conclusions surrounding the Roll's representation of deposition. A method similar to Shirota's is employed in this dissertation, but it has been modified as this dissertation explores the use of women on the Roll.

In an attempt to uncover the political ideas present during the period reflected on the Canterbury Roll, this dissertation uses the selection and edited highlighting of women on the Roll as a tool for historical analysis. Through an examination of the women included on, and excluded from, the Canterbury Roll it is possible to identify the motivations of the Roll-maker, the Roman Numerals Editor, and the Yorkist Editor. This dissertation develops the methodology established by Allan in her approach to genealogical chronicle rolls. Allan identified and referred to two scribal hands on genealogical chronicle rolls in her discussion of Yorkist propaganda.<sup>37</sup> This dissertation builds upon this method by using a comparison of three scribal hands to uncover the different approaches to the material featured on the Canterbury Roll. Each change, whether subtle or overt, uncovers a new layer to the Roll which can be explored further. This approach reveals how women were viewed in fifteenth-century English society from various perspectives. By further placing these women in the context of the times, and examining the contemporary political occurrences, the motivations behind the women's inclusion can be uncovered. Examined in this light, it appears the Roll-maker, and the subsequent editors, all held the traditional view of women outlined above.

Genealogical chronicle rolls, being political propaganda, contain agendas. In addition, they contain mythical, as well as simply untrue, information. As noted above, it has been acknowledged that these sources can still be used to successfully uncover contemporary societal beliefs. Indeed, as this study is concerned with the motivations of the Roll-maker and the editors of the Canterbury Roll, the accuracy of the Roll is not problematic, as all inclusions are reflective of the Roll-maker or editor's thoughts and/or agendas. In line with this recent school of thought, the Canterbury Roll can be examined in order to understand political perceptions of the time, due to the selection, and highlighting, of women throughout the Roll, by both the Roll-maker and the Roll's subsequent editors.

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<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Allan, 'Political Propaganda Employed by the House of York in England in the Mid-Fifteenth Century, 1450–1471', pp. 360-363.



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The first chapter will discuss the women selected by the original Roll-maker who subscribed to the medieval societal view that women should be subservient to their husbands. The Roll-maker chose to include women on the Roll who created successful lineages, were the wives of particularly successful kings, or had useful ancestry. By selecting these women, the Roll-maker demonstrated his belief that a woman's place was to support her husband, and that in doing so, peace and harmony in the kingdom could be better achieved. In taking this approach, he subscribed to the standard medieval view of a woman's place in society.

Another cohort of women chosen by the Roll-maker for inclusion are those who overstepped the expected boundaries of a woman's expected place in society, and these women are basis of the second chapter. The women selected are those who rebelled, were the wives of kings who ruled unsuccessfully, or ruled unsatisfactorily. By including these women, the Roll-maker once again demonstrated his belief that women should remain obediently in the private sphere.

The third chapter focuses on two case studies: how women were viewed by the Roman Numerals Editor, and how they were viewed by the Yorkist Editor. The Roman Numerals Editor appears to have held a religious bias, which influenced his work. While he translated the majority of the Hindu-Arabic numerals featured in the roundels to Roman numerals, he failed to do so with two women, namely the women who did not conform to the expected role of women, or did not help the contemporary king's cause of establishing legitimacy. The Yorkist Editor, in a similar vein, selected women to prove Edward IV's legitimate claim to the throne. This demonstrates that both the Roman Numerals Editor and the Yorkist Editor subscribed to the common view of a woman's role in the political arena.

This dissertation examines three fifteenth-century attitudes towards women who conformed, or did not conform, to the expected role of women in medieval society. To establish the earliest view featured on the Canterbury Roll of women and their "correct" place in society, it is necessary to first examine the original Roll-maker's attitude towards women who conformed to medieval societal expectations.



## **Chapter One: ‘to commemorate such great nuptial ceremonies, [Claudius] built the city which he called Claudiocester’: The women who conformed**

Women who helped to legitimise and stabilise Henry VI’s claim to the throne were selected by the Roll-maker for inclusion on the Canterbury Roll. Stability and legitimacy would have been particularly desired at this time due to the political upheaval featuring at the time of the Roll’s construction. In the Middle Ages, a queen ‘was judged on her conformity to conventional behaviour that complemented the king’s male office.’<sup>38</sup> Indeed, kingship was partly constructed through a queen’s ‘mundane behaviour’.<sup>39</sup> Women were expected to support their husbands, remain out of the public sphere,<sup>40</sup> and extend the family line. This was the typical view of a woman’s place in society, and the women who conformed were lauded on the Canterbury Roll. In particular, women were included who, as a result of their marriage, strengthened their husband’s prestige through the material assets she brought, the providing of a useful lineage, conforming to societal expectations of wifely behaviour, and/or being a successful progenitor. In other words, the women who supported and increased their husband’s public standing from behind-the-scenes were included. This resulted in the contemporary king having a solid foundation from which to assert his claim to the throne.

### **Successful marital ties**

Marriage between the nobility in the Middle Ages was, for the most part, entered into in order to link lineages, gain assets such as land, or to help foster alliances.<sup>41</sup> The Canterbury Roll contained references to successful marriages, and in doing so, reinforced a woman’s “correct” role in society. In medieval society, women were depicted as ‘not only weaker physically, but weaker rationally and morally [than a man]’.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, as stated by Helen Jewell, if the king left no male heir, ‘any daughter’s role was likely at best to be to carry the crown to her husband or son, thus restoring “normal” conditions.’<sup>43</sup> The marriage between Cénica and Maximian the Great is one such example. The Roll recounted that ‘Octonius ... gave in marriage his daughter

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<sup>38</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 251.

<sup>39</sup> Parsons, p. 251.

<sup>40</sup> Parsons, p. 66.

<sup>41</sup> Shahar, *The Fourth Estate*, p. 131.

<sup>42</sup> M. Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> H. Jewell, *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe c. 500-1200*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, p. 83.

Cenica to Maximianus son of Leoninus the brother of Elena, together with his kingdom'.<sup>44</sup> In other words, Maximian gained the kingdom due to his marriage to Cenica, who, as a married woman, was not expected to rule in her own right. Isabella of France's marriage to Edward II is another such example. The daughter of Philip the Fair, Isabella's marriage to Edward II was specifically intended to create peace between the families.<sup>45</sup> The union was also used by the Roll-maker to demonstrate the link to the French kingdom which occurred as a result of the marriage. In the contemporary society, women were regarded not as individuals, but as a member of their family.<sup>46</sup> Isabella of France was a politically active figure in the early fourteenth century, at one point seizing power from Edward II on behalf of Edward III.<sup>47</sup> Despite this, the Roll disregards her individuality. The only reference to Isabella is her name in a roundel, the inclusion of which was intended to pictorially demonstrate the connection between the French and English line of kings. The son of Isabella and Edward II, Edward III, put forward a claim to the French throne following the death of Isabella's brothers, who left no heirs.<sup>48</sup> This claim is represented on the Roll following Isabella's roundel, with the central succession line alternating between red and blue, the colours of the English and French succession lines.<sup>49</sup> The inclusion of Isabella's roundel was intended to demonstrate clearly the link between the French and English thrones that the marriage created.

In order to support their claim to the throne, kings connected themselves to successful dynasties which satisfied the 'need to claim antiquity'.<sup>50</sup> When discussing the genealogies of mythical families, R. Howard Bloch stated there was a 'deep, though historically determined, mental structure that assumed power to be legitimated through recourse to origins'.<sup>51</sup> Kings, ruling after the Conquest, particularly wished to strengthen their claim by connecting themselves to pre-Conquest kings,<sup>52</sup> to establish a more legitimate claim to the throne. One example of this, included on the Roll, is the marriage between Henry I and Matilda. Henry I could circumvent the problem of claiming his right to rule purely from the Norman conquest, as his marriage

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<sup>44</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §42a.

<sup>45</sup> W. Ormrod, *Edward III*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011, p. 26.

<sup>46</sup> Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> S. Phillips, *Edward II*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 515-516.

<sup>48</sup> Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, p. 88.

<sup>49</sup> Jones, pp. 88-89.

<sup>50</sup> M. Lamont, "'Genealogical' History and the English Roll", *Medieval Manuscripts, their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2011, p. 248.

<sup>51</sup> R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: a literary anthropology of the French Middle Ages*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1983, cited in Lamont, *Medieval Manuscripts and their Makers and Users*, p. 248.

<sup>52</sup> B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, Taylor & Francis e-Library edn, London, Routledge, 2003, p. 16.

linked Henry back to the earlier Anglo-Saxon line. This is demonstrated on the Roll, through a short, separate genealogical tree and marginal text, which shows Matilda to be the daughter of the king and queen of Scotland.<sup>53</sup> Saint Margaret, the queen, was a descendent of the Anglo-Saxon line of kings through Edgar the Aetheling, while Malcom, the king, was a descendent of the Scottish line of kings.<sup>54</sup> By marrying Matilda, Henry I strategically integrated himself into the two illustrious lines.<sup>55</sup> The accompanying text on the Roll states that ‘Henry the First ... held the kingdom in peace, marrying Matilda daughter of Margaret Queen of Scotland granddaughter of Edward’,<sup>56</sup> reaffirming both the strategic nature of the marriage, and the claim to antiquity that it brought.

### Women as successful wives

A woman was expected to be subservient and supportive of her husband.<sup>57</sup> Through the work of the Original Scribe, the Roll-maker exhibits this belief on the Canterbury Roll, including wives who were celebrated. One example is Marcia, the wife of the legendary king, Guthelin. Guthelin is stated on the Roll as having named the first laws of the Britons, the Martian Laws, after Marcia.<sup>58</sup> This description of the origin of the Martian Laws differs from the origins suggested by the chronicles consulted by the Roll-maker in the construction of the text. The Roll-maker noted that Marcia, *according to some chroniclers*, reigned for twelve years after her husband,<sup>59</sup> suggesting that he himself does not believe this fact outright. In contrast, Ranulph Higden definitively stated, in his fourteenth-century work *Polychronicon*, that Marcia ruled,<sup>60</sup> while Geoffrey of Monmouth, author of *Historia regum Britanniae*, stated that Marcia ruled, and as well as that, devised the laws herself.<sup>61</sup> The conscious overlooking of information by the Roll-maker, whether it be casting doubt over Marcia’s rule, or overlooking the fact she may have devised the laws, was done in order to bolster the image of the king. In other words,

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<sup>53</sup> For the associated commentary, see Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §87.

<sup>54</sup> F. Tolhurst, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Translation of Female Kingship*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 26.

<sup>55</sup> Tolhurst, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Translation of Female Kingship*, p. 26.

<sup>56</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §87.

<sup>57</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 66.

<sup>58</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §24.

<sup>59</sup> Wall, §24.

<sup>60</sup> R. Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, C. Babington (ed.), London, Longman, Green, 1871, vol. 3, p. 381.

<sup>61</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. N. Wright, M. Reeve (ed.), Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2007, p. 60.

the Roll-maker redirected the prestige that should have been accredited to the queen, had she been the source behind the laws, to her husband, the king. In addition, he cast doubt over whether or not she had ruled. Thus, the king would be seen as the holder of power, rather than his queen. This inclusion and exclusion of facts presented the view of women as not being suited to rule in their own right, exhibiting the belief that a woman's place was to be subordinate to her husband.

Women were included on the Canterbury Roll if their marriage was exemplary. John Carmi Parsons has stated that a marriage in which a wife submitted to her husband's authority 'guaranteed her exaltation at his side'.<sup>62</sup> Women were selected by the original Roll-maker if they were celebrated by their husbands, which suggests they displayed the "ideal characteristics" of being a wife. This idea can be seen with Gewysia, the wife of the legendary King Arviragus. According to the chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth, the city of Gloucester was built to 'perpetuate the memory of so happy a union'.<sup>63</sup> The Roll's marginal history repeats this story,<sup>64</sup> a significant inclusion, as Gloucester, at the time of the Roll's construction, was a notable town.<sup>65</sup> It can be assumed that Gewysia fulfilled the idealised expectations of a wife, which reaffirms that women were celebrated if they conformed to the expected role of women in society.

### **Legitimacy through children**

One of a queen's primary purposes was to give the king an heir, and in doing so, advance the king's dynasty.<sup>66</sup> In fulfilling this societal expectation, a wife was celebrated. If the mother of a son was not the King's wife, however, the legitimacy of the line could be undermined. This can be seen on the Canterbury Roll through the inclusion of Canute's wives, Aelgifu and Emma. Canute was an early-eleventh century Danish king of England.<sup>67</sup> Harold Harefoot, son of Aelgifu, and Hardicanute, son of Emma, respectively became king of England. The Roll-

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<sup>62</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 66.

<sup>63</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 84.

<sup>64</sup> While the story remains the same, it appears that the Roll-maker made an error while transcribing, naming Arviragus as the father, and Claudius as the husband. See Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §36.

<sup>65</sup> See, N. Herbert (ed.), *The Victoria History of the county of Gloucester: Volume IV: The City of Gloucester*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 13-72.

<sup>66</sup> Jewell, *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe*, p. 87.

<sup>67</sup> T. Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, p. 1.

maker appeared to have believed a rumour that Aelfgifu was barren, as he noted the mother of Harold to be a ‘concubine’.<sup>68</sup> The rumour has been suggested to have been the result of a discrediting attempt by Emma, Canute’s second wife.<sup>69</sup> To suggest that Harold’s mother was barren would undermine Harold’s claim to the throne, and allow Emma’s son Hardicanute to take precedence as heir.<sup>70</sup> The Roll-maker included mention of Hardicanute being a ‘strong, active and swift warrior’.<sup>71</sup> In contrast, Harold’s entry says that he ‘was chosen [k]ing by the treachery of Count Godwin’,<sup>72</sup> reflecting the Roll-maker’s sentiments. Through this clear distinction between the descriptions of the two kings, it becomes apparent that the Roll-maker supported the idea that legitimacy was tied to the mother. At this time, Henry IV had not yet married, so the emphasis placed on the dangers of barrenness or illegitimacy may have been part of a political message the Roll-maker was trying to convey.<sup>73</sup>

The Canterbury Roll commemorated and celebrated the women who bore successful figures in history, as mothers above all else. Kings attempted to strengthen and legitimise their claims to the throne by tracing their heritage back to strong figures throughout history. A specific example is the attempt by rulers who were war-leaders to link themselves to Woden, the god of battle.<sup>74</sup> This was also true for successful historical figures in history. Elena,<sup>75</sup> the mother of Constantinus the Great,<sup>76</sup> is one example of this. Elena is celebrated in the chronicles that the original Roll-maker consulted when constructing the marginal text. For example, Higden included a story of Elena journeying to Jerusalem, and returning with holy relics.<sup>77</sup> In addition, Geoffrey of Monmouth mentioned that she was trained to rule in her own right as her father bore no sons.<sup>78</sup> Despite her documented ability and religious practice, the Roll-maker referred to Elena solely as being the wife of Constantianus the Roman, and the mother of Constantinus.

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<sup>68</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §81.

<sup>69</sup> M. Campbell, ‘Queen Emma and Aelfgifu of Northampton: Canute the Great’s Women’, *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, vol. 4, 1971, p. 69.

<sup>70</sup> Campbell, *Medieval Scandinavia*, p. 69.

<sup>71</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §82.

<sup>72</sup> Wall, §81.

<sup>73</sup> For another example of a woman being included due to her status as progenitor see Frealaf, the wife of the Anglo-Saxon god Woden, who together created ‘nearly every race of the barbarous nations’ in Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §44.

<sup>74</sup> Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 16.

<sup>75</sup> Known in popular culture as Helena.

<sup>76</sup> Also known as Constantine I.

<sup>77</sup> R. Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, C. Babington (ed.), London, Longman, Green, 1865-1886, vol. 5, pp. 137-139.

<sup>78</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 96.

Meanwhile, Constantinus is noted on the Roll as being the founder of Constantinople.<sup>79</sup> Constanantinus, being the first Christian Roman Emperor,<sup>80</sup> would have been a highly significant lineage to claim. By ignoring Elena's other achievements, it is clear that the Roll-maker wished to restrict her recognition to that of the progenitor of a successful lineage, to which the contemporary king could link himself. By downplaying Elena's achievements, the Roll-maker emphasised her son's achievements, and expressed his belief in the subordinate status of women.

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This chapter examined women who were selected because they contributed to the preservation, or restoration, of unity and harmony. Through being celebrated by their husbands, bearing a successful king, or providing a useful dowry or lineage, women played their part in the perpetuation of a unified and successful nation with legitimate antecedents. Through the inclusion of women who conformed to societal expectations, the Roll-maker was able to demonstrate the king's legitimacy of rule. In doing so, he affirmed the traditional view that women were subordinate to men, and were to be celebrated when they helped their husband to achieve greater power, or bore successful sons. This is tied into the desire to show Henry VI as the rightful claimant to the throne. While the Roll-maker included women who conformed to societal expectations, he also included women who did not. These women, in contrast to the celebrations seen above, were shown to be linked to periods of instability and trouble.

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<sup>79</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §41.

<sup>80</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 96.



## Chapter Two: ‘...and henceforth disorder increased in the land’: Non-conforming women

Women who did not conform to their expected societal roles were often singled out for discussion by chroniclers. As a general rule, more would be written on disruptive periods of history as opposed to times of tranquillity, simply as there would be more to discuss. A king’s faults were often projected on to, or linked to, his wife.<sup>81</sup> For example, more information was included about women in discussions of succession politics.<sup>82</sup> However, it was not unheard of for chroniclers to alter the personalities of women, or even create women, in order to achieve a political aim. For example, Geoffrey of Monmouth invented the careers of five mythical women who were either female kings, or female king-candidates, which created a precedent for the Empress Matilda claim to the throne.<sup>83</sup> Thus, women were used and manipulated in order to prove a point to the reader. The medieval world view held that a woman’s place was subservient to her husband.<sup>84</sup> Recent scholarship has uncovered that women did indeed exert influence in the private sphere.<sup>85</sup> This chapter will describe the Roll-maker’s subscription to the medieval view that women should remain out of the public sphere. He included women if their husbands ruled unsuccessfully, if they were noted in history as rebelling of their own accord, and to press the case that female-kings were less satisfactory than their male equivalents.

### The projection of a king’s faults on to their queen

Parsons has stated that in the Middle Ages ‘a king’s perceived faults might be projected on his wife, or blamed on her’.<sup>86</sup> As mentioned previously, chronicles were consulted during the construction of the Canterbury Roll’s marginal text.<sup>87</sup> As a result, the Roll-maker included queens on the Canterbury Roll if their husband was regarded as an inadequate ruler. The mention of Isabella, daughter of the Count of Angoulême, on the Roll is one example. King

<sup>81</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 251.

<sup>82</sup> P. Stafford, ‘The Portrayal of Royal women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries’, in J. Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship*, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1993, p. 146.

<sup>83</sup> Tolhurst, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Translation of Female Kingship*, p. 51.

<sup>84</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 66.

<sup>85</sup> See, for example, Erler and Kowaleski, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, p. 10.

<sup>86</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 251.

<sup>87</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, n.p.

John, a notoriously disliked king, divorced Hadwisa of Gloucester,<sup>88</sup> and, within a year married Isabella in 1200.<sup>89</sup> John's reign coincided with dreadful disunity, famous examples of which include the signing of the Magna Carta, and the loss of French kingdoms.<sup>90</sup> It appears that a link was drawn between the repudiation of his former wife and the following tribulations. Indeed, it was once believed by historians that, in the words of Nicholas Vincent, 'the subsequent rebellion, Capetian invasion and defeat of King John [could] ... be traced directly to the events of August 1200 and John's marriage to Isabella'.<sup>91</sup> With regards to John's marriage to Isabella, the Canterbury Roll included that 'in this time ... England suffered many and various troubles'.<sup>92</sup> By marrying Isabella, John hoped to lay claim to the county of Angoulême. This plan did not succeed, and Philip Augustus later confiscated John's French lands.<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, many chronicles referred to Isabella as a 'foreign harlot', personalising this negative view.<sup>94</sup> In actuality, Isabella may have been as young as nine when she was married to John.<sup>95</sup> The inclusion of both Hadwisa and Isabella on the Roll relies only their marriages to John,<sup>96</sup> rather than as individuals of their own right. In addition, the trials and tribulations experienced are linked with John's marriage to Isabella.<sup>97</sup>

### Women and succession politics

In the Middle Ages, a woman's involvement in the public sphere was generally viewed as improper. Parsons noted that in these scenarios critics 'dwelled on the corruption of [a woman's] ideali[s]ed domestic roles as wife and mother'.<sup>98</sup> These "corruptions" could, however, be fabrications by the chronicler. Jewell noted that the information typically available concerning queens during the Middle Ages was written by ecclesiastics who incorporated women to suit an agenda, or to show the 'moral of a tale'.<sup>99</sup> The Roll-maker chose to mention

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<sup>88</sup> Also known as Isabella of Gloucester.

<sup>89</sup> N. Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel', in S. Church (ed.), *King John: New Interpretations*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 1999, p. 166.

<sup>90</sup> S. Church, 'Introduction', in S. Church (ed.), *King John: New Interpretations*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 1999, p. xix.

<sup>91</sup> Vincent, *King John*, p. 173.

<sup>92</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §91.

<sup>93</sup> Vincent, *King John*, p. 172.

<sup>94</sup> Vincent, p. 165.

<sup>95</sup> Vincent, pp. 174-175.

<sup>96</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §91.

<sup>97</sup> Emma, the eleventh-century queen, is another example. The Roll showed that her marriage to Ethelred brought disruption, as following their marriage, Ethelred ordered the slaying of all the Danes living in England. See Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §77.

<sup>98</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 66.

<sup>99</sup> Jewell, *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe*, p. 84.

two queens who were accused of murdering their stepsons in the name of succession politics. The first is the mythical figure of Rowen, the wife of Vortigerno.<sup>100</sup> The Roll stated that ‘Rowen, [Vortumerus’] stepmother, killed [Vortumerus] by poison and again summoned the Saxons’.<sup>101</sup> This is very similar to the section in Higden’s *Polychronicon*,<sup>102</sup> suggesting that Higden was the primary source for this information. Vortimer’s death meant that Vortigern, Rowen’s husband, once again became king. Higden noted that William of Malmesbury, a twelfth-century chronicler, believed Vortumerus died by other means,<sup>103</sup> however the Roll-maker ignores this information, and placed the blame on Rowen. Jewell has noted that a stepmother was viewed with suspicion in terms of succession politics, particularly if she herself had a son.<sup>104</sup> Having set this idea up in the mythical section of the Roll, a second instance occurs with the historical figure of Aelfthryth, wife of King Edgar, although on the Roll she is solely referred to as ‘stepmother’.<sup>105</sup> She is credited with being an accomplice to the murder of Edward the Martyr, a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon king, handing Edward a drink to distract him while another woman stabbed him.<sup>106</sup> In fact, the first accusation of Aelfthryth’s involvement occurred nearly one hundred years after the event, in Osbern’s *Life of St Dunstan*.<sup>107</sup> Not included on the Roll is the fact that the murder was noted by chroniclers as being a struggle for the throne, with Aelfthryth desiring her own son, Egelredus, to become king. As it had previously been shown that Rowen had murdered her stepson in order to affect the succession, the Roll-maker may have assumed that the Roll’s reader would establish the link themselves. In each case, the Roll described disharmony occurring as a result of these acts. This suggests the Roll-maker may have been trying to establish a pattern in this inclusion, showing that only disharmony followed the active interference of women in the political sphere.

### **Women who attempted to rule**

The efforts of the women who attempted to enter the political sphere and involve themselves in succession politics were downplayed on the Canterbury Roll. Women, seen as ‘intellectually and emotionally inferior to men’,<sup>108</sup> were assumed to be incapable of adequately exercising

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<sup>100</sup> Also known as Vortigern.

<sup>101</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §47.

<sup>102</sup> Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. 5, pp. 271-273.

<sup>103</sup> Higden, p. 273.

<sup>104</sup> Jewell, *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe*, p. 86.

<sup>105</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, § 76.

<sup>106</sup> Wall, § 76.

<sup>107</sup> Jewell, p. 86.

<sup>108</sup> Erler and Kowaleski, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, p. 1.

authority.<sup>109</sup> Through the treatment of the Empress Matilda one can see this idea.<sup>110</sup> Matilda contested the Crown in the twelfth century, as, though she was named heir by her father, Henry I, she was usurped by her cousin Stephen upon Henry's death.<sup>111</sup> The following battle for the crown, also known as 'The Anarchy', lasted nineteen years.<sup>112</sup> Many medieval sources expressed a 'normative medieval attitude': that Matilda was unsuited to rule.<sup>113</sup> This is in contrast to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was supportive of Matilda as the royal candidate.<sup>114</sup> Higden was another supporter, who noted that the Archbishop of Canterbury who crowned Stephen died within one year, and that all those who swore allegiance to Stephen met a wretched end.<sup>115</sup> However, many others, such as the anonymous author of the *Gesta Stephani*, and Orderic Vitalis supported Stephen's claim.<sup>116</sup> While the original Roll-maker noted the Empress Matilda as having a legitimate claim, he chose not to support the Empress. Matilda's voyage to England to reclaim the crown is referred to in the marginal text as increasing disorder in the land.<sup>117</sup> This suggests that the Roll-maker saw Matilda as a nuisance and a creator of disharmony rather than as an usurped queen with a legitimate claim to the throne. The majority of Matilda's textual mention on the Roll is concerned with the fact she was the mother of Henry II, who is seen as a unifying figure on the Roll. It states that he 'reigned prosperously in great glory, enriched with numerous offspring, for 24 years, 7 months and 5 days'.<sup>118</sup> The Roll-maker downplayed Matilda's claim to the throne. For example, he did not mention the fact that Matilda became 'Lady of the English' at one point during the civil war.<sup>119</sup> He instead reinforced her status as mother, and acknowledged the subsequent unity witness during her son's reign.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Erler and Kowaleski, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, p. 1.

<sup>110</sup> Known in popular culture as Maud.

<sup>111</sup> H. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen 1135-54: Anarchy in England*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970, p. 30.

<sup>112</sup> Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen*, p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> Tolhurst, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Translation of Female Kingship*, p. 21.

<sup>114</sup> See Tolhurst, pp. 53-131.

<sup>115</sup> R. Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, J. Lumby (ed.), London, Longman & Co., and Trubner & Co., 1879, vol. 7, p. 479-81.

<sup>116</sup> Beem, *The Lioness roared: the problems of female rule in English history*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 28.

<sup>117</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §88.

<sup>118</sup> Wall, §89.

<sup>119</sup> Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen*, p. 44.

<sup>120</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §88-89.

## Women who ruled

The exercise of female power was met with hostility in medieval society.<sup>121</sup> The Roll-maker appeared to subscribe to this view, as seen by the exclusion of Guendolena, the legendary queen of Locrinus, from the Roll's history. Guendolena, after murdering her husband, ruled the kingdom competently for fifteen years.<sup>122</sup> She is mentioned in both Higden's and Geoffrey of Monmouth's chronicles,<sup>123</sup> which suggests an active decision by the Roll-maker to omit her from the Roll.

Women who did exercise power, and are noted as doing so on the Canterbury Roll, are linked to a period of instability. Lois Huneycutt noted that through a study of chroniclers' works it is apparent that chroniclers accepted women as regents, or transmitters of power, but not when they exercised their own authority.<sup>124</sup> By linking the only female-kings featured on the Roll to a break-down in the idealised order of society, the Roll-maker may have been trying to suggest that a woman's rule *leads* to a period of turmoil. After establishing this idea, the Roll-maker was then free to show unity and harmony being re-established by a male ruler, thus "restoring" the kingdom to its natural state. This may have been a deliberate act of "inversion", or reversal of what has traditionally been the case, in order to prove that women should not rule. The idea of inversion has been discussed by others, such as with Pauline Stafford's discussion of the Empress Matilda, noting that her haughtiness, mentioned in the chronicle *Gesta Stephani*, 'may be no more than an inversion of the traditional dignity of earlier queens'.<sup>125</sup> The *Gesta Stephani* was favourable to Stephen's rule,<sup>126</sup> so this inversion may have been an attempt to demonstrate that Matilda would make an unsuccessful queen. The Roll-maker may have attempted to prove a similar point with his inclusion of the daughters of King Leir.<sup>127</sup> Cordella,<sup>128</sup> Regau and Gonorilla are incorporated on the central line of succession in a group of three roundels. Regau and Gonorilla are mentioned in the marginal history purely in terms of their marriages, and the

<sup>121</sup> Erler and Kowaleski, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, p. 1.

<sup>122</sup> Tolhurst, *Biographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society*, p. 275.

<sup>123</sup> For Higden's reference see R. Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, vol. 2, J. Lumby (ed.), London, Longman & Co., and Trubner & Co., 1869, p. 447; for Geoffrey of Monmouth's reference see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 34.

<sup>124</sup> L. Huneycutt, 'Female Succession and the Language of Power', in J. Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1993, p. 191.

<sup>125</sup> Stafford, *Medieval Queenship*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>126</sup> Stafford, p. 159.

<sup>127</sup> Known in popular culture as Lear.

<sup>128</sup> Known in popular culture as Cordelia.

splitting of the kingdom between them,<sup>129</sup> before Cordella went to battle against them and won the entire kingdom.<sup>130</sup> Each sister is noted on the Roll as having ruled, seen through the inclusion of Hindu-Arabic numerals, representing length of rule, in each of their roundels. Cordella's rule of five years is also mentioned in the marginal history,<sup>131</sup> and is noted as having been filled with challenges by her sisters' sons,<sup>132</sup> as they disapproved of a female-king.<sup>133</sup> Cordella's successor, Cunedag, is noted on the Roll in his roundel as has having ruled for thirty-four years.<sup>134</sup> This suggests that the Roll-maker sought to show that successful rulership could be found through male rule, and attempted to demonstrate this by linking the reign of Leir's daughters with a period of instability, showing the ill-effects of female rule.

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Overall, it appears the Roll-maker held the view that medieval women should be subordinate to male authority. Therefore, when women were seen to engage in the political milieu, and overstep the traditional expectations, they were criticised.<sup>135</sup> This perspective is exhibited by the Roll-maker, who underscored the roles that women played in creating this disharmony. This was seen through the inclusion of marriages, where the faults of the husband were linked to the wife, homicide, women's involvement in succession politics, and female-kings reigning during turbulent times. The Roll-maker's view of women was just one view recorded on the Canterbury Roll, as the Roll was subject to editing following the Original Scribe's work. By examining these editors' works, other views of women can be brought to light.

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<sup>129</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §13.

<sup>130</sup> See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 38-42.

<sup>131</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §14.

<sup>132</sup> Wall, §14.

<sup>133</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 44.

<sup>134</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, n.p.

<sup>135</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 66.

### **Chapter Three: ‘This red line is the true and direct line...’: Women in the revisions between 1433 and 1466 of the Canterbury Roll**

An examination of the Roll’s amendments allows further insight into the contemporary perceptions of women. The first editor, the Roman Numerals Editor, was uncovered through research done by the author. He was likely to have worked sometime between 1433 and 1461.<sup>136</sup> The second editor, the Yorkist Editor, worked between 1461 and 1466.<sup>137</sup> This collective period witnessed an increased involvement of women in the public sphere.<sup>138</sup> One such example is Margaret of Anjou, who in 1453 while Henry VI was incapacitated, ‘presented a bill of five articles which proposed the transfer of kingly authority and patronage to herself.’<sup>139</sup> While this did not succeed, the fact it was attempted is noteworthy, and once Henry partially recovered and regained power, Margaret essentially ruled on his behalf.<sup>140</sup> It appears that neither the Roman Numerals Editor nor the Yorkist Editor acknowledged the societal change. This is apparent as each editor adopted a similar viewpoint to the original Roll-maker, namely that of the hierarchical traditional structure of society.

#### **Women and the Roman Numerals Editor: Religious bias?**

Through examining the women added to the Roll by the Roman Numerals Editor, it becomes apparent that the Editor held a bias similar to that of the clergy. While women were, in some cases, encouraged by the Church to influence their husbands, this was to be carried out in the private sphere.<sup>141</sup> In general, the Church tended to view women in the Middle Ages as inferior and subordinate to men, seen, for example, in their teachings about the actions of Eve and the subsequent Fall of mankind.<sup>142</sup> The primary aim of the Roman Numerals Editor’s work was to translate the regnal years featured on the Canterbury Roll from the Original Scribe’s Hindu-Arabic numerals, to Roman numerals. This was likely a result of the Roll’s audience changing, and suggests a change of location from that of the Original Scribe. However, it is apparent that the Roman Numerals Editor held a different political motivation to the Original Scribe as

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<sup>136</sup> See n. 9.

<sup>137</sup> Rouse, *Migrations*, p. 110.

<sup>138</sup> Larson, ‘Victims and Viragos: Contemporary Perceptions of Women during the Wars of the Roses’, p. 2.

<sup>139</sup> R. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1998, p. 722.

<sup>140</sup> Mate, *Women in Medieval English Society*, p. 69.

<sup>141</sup> Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 66.

<sup>142</sup> Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 2.

instead of translating the Hindu-Arabic numerals verbatim, he skipped a number of roundels to which the Original Scribe had added regnal years. Through an examination of these alterations, it is possible to determine that the Roman Numerals Editor held a religious bias which influenced his editing of women on the Roll.

The nature of the Roman Numerals Editor's work reflects the fact that he was likely connected with the Church, because of his use of Roman numerals. The length of each king's rule had been noted on the Roll by the Original Scribe in the form of Hindu-Arabic numerals. These were used in Europe in the twelfth century, but became common-place in the fifteenth century.<sup>143</sup> As Hindu-Arabic numerals were more familiar in urban environments, it is also likely that it was constructed in an urban workshop, which was almost certainly an area connected with academia or trade, such as London or Oxford. The fact that the Roman Numerals Editor saw a need to add Roman numerals suggests that the new audience of the Roll was unfamiliar with Hindu-Arabic numerals. Allan suggested in her article 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the "British History" in the Reign of Edward IV' that the manuscripts she was examining were likely produced in a workshop due to the number of extant copies.<sup>144</sup> It is likely that the Canterbury Roll was also constructed in a workshop, due to the fact it is similar in style to other rolls.<sup>145</sup> The fact there was a change suggests the Roll moved to a location where Roman numerals were still favoured. This was almost certainly a place with a strong connection to a religious institution, such as a monastery. If the Roman Numerals Editor was indeed connected to the clergy, he would be more likely to act on his belief that legitimacy was linked to Christianity.

The Roman Numerals Editor's likely connection to the Church is reflected in the highlighting or overlooking of kings on the central succession line. The Editor failed to highlight kings who did not display Christian values, such as William Rufus, Edwin, and Maylgo. In each case these kings were either noted on the Roll, or in the chronicles consulted, as acting in a non-Christian manner. For example, the original Roll-maker noted William Rufus as being 'hateful to

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<sup>143</sup> J. Pettersson, 'Numerical Notation', in P. Daniels and W. Bright (ed.), *The World's Writing Systems*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 804; one notable exception is the discovery of an equal hour horary quadrant from 1396, emblazoned with Richard II's crest, which uses Hindu-Arabic numerals, see C. Bloom, '14<sup>th</sup> century timepiece unearthed in Qld farm shed', 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-11-09/one-man27s-trash-is-another27s-centuries-old-treasure/3654974>, (accessed 7 September 2016).

<sup>144</sup> Allan, *Patronage, pedigree and power in later medieval England*, p. 174.

<sup>145</sup> Shirota, 'Unrolling History', p. 28, n. 20.



God',<sup>146</sup> and Edwin as having 'despoiled Holy Church of her liberties and possessions [sic]'.<sup>147</sup> Maylgo does not feature in the Roll's explanatory text. He is, however, noted in Higden's *Polychronicon* as reigning with the sin of sodomy,<sup>148</sup> which may have influenced contemporary views. Indeed, the "sin of sodomy" may also have been the reason behind a sole case in which the length of rule on the Roll was altered. The Roman Numerals Editor changed Edward III's regnal years from fifty to fifty-two, suggesting that the Roman Numerals Editor judged the start of Edward III's rule two years before Edward II was officially deposed. If so, this coincides with the year that Edward II's wife, Isabella, left him.<sup>149</sup> Edward II has been noted as very likely having a relationship with Piers Gaveston,<sup>150</sup> which may have influenced the Roman Numerals Editor to end Edward's reign at the point when Isabella moved to France. Each of these examples seems to suggest that the Roman Numerals Editor was a clergyman, and that he did not recognise these men as kings due to their failure to adhere to the Church's teachings.

It would be expected, if the Roman Numerals Editor was a member of the clergy, that he would have highlighted the women that fitted the Church's idealised expectations of women. If a female was to rule, it was typically only until a suitable husband could be found, or until her son could rule.<sup>151</sup> Indeed, when arriving at the three roundels of King Leir's daughters, Regan, Gonorilla and Cordella, the Roman Numerals Editor only added Roman numerals to Regan's roundel. Regan features on the Original Scribe's main central succession line, while Cordella and Gonorilla feature as offshoots. Regan's son Cunedag is the next roundel on the succession line, placed beneath Regan. This placement initially lends itself to the idea that the Roman Numerals Editor only chose to highlight Regan because of her positioning on the Roll. However, there are cases throughout the Roll where the Roman Numerals Editor gave offshoots of the succession line Roman numerals so the fact that Regan was the mother of Cunedag, the next successful king of England, appears to be his motivation. This is reinforced by the fact that Gonorilla does not receive a translation of her regnal years despite the fact her son, Morganus, who features below her roundel, was also a king, but not of the whole kingdom. The death of Cordella resulted in a divided kingdom, with Cunedag receiving England, and

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<sup>146</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §86.

<sup>147</sup> Wall, §74.

<sup>148</sup> Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. 5, p. 341.

<sup>149</sup> Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 483.

<sup>150</sup> Phillips, pp. 25-26.

<sup>151</sup> Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 1.

Morganus taking the rest.<sup>152</sup> Eventually, after a battle between the two, Cunedag gained control of the entire kingdom.<sup>153</sup> The Roll-maker was therefore concerned purely with the English line of kings, demonstrated by his selecting of Regan, Cunedag's mother, to be the only woman to be paid attention.

The highlighting of women on the Canterbury Roll reflected the Roman Numerals Editor's religious bias. The main reason for the Roman Numerals Editor's addition of regnal years on the Roll was to allow those who did not understand Hindu-Arabic numerals a chance to acquire a fuller understanding of the contents of the Roll. They were likely added after the Roll had moved to a more provincial region. The Roman Numerals Editor held a number of bias' which affected the way in which he worked. This influenced the way he approached the daughters of King Leir, and their respective reigns. In doing so, he reflected the Church's belief that a woman was inferior and subordinate to men, and celebrated the woman who was the mother of the next successful king, an accepted woman's role.

### **Women and the Yorkist Editor: Reaffirming legitimacy**

The Yorkist Editor used women on the Roll to support his aim of legitimising the contemporary king's claim to the throne. The Editor worked following Edward IV's deposition of Henry VI in 1461, during the Wars of the Roses, and made adjustments to the Canterbury Roll between 1461 and 1465 to record and support this change. Thirty-two new roundels were added to the genealogical tree, ten of which contained women, and explanatory marginal text was also added to assist the reader in understanding the additions. There are rolls similar in content to the Canterbury Roll, and these rolls also include the Yorkist additions,<sup>154</sup> which suggests that the Yorkist Editor may have been working from a script, much like the Original Scribe. The rolls in the same family as the Canterbury Roll also include the Yorkist additions. Since the time that the Original Scribe worked, two royal women had broken tradition. First, Margaret of Anjou had entered the political sphere on behalf of Henry VI, while he was incapacitated.<sup>155</sup> Second, Edward IV had broken the tradition of marrying for political alliance, and secretly

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<sup>152</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 44.

<sup>153</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 44.

<sup>154</sup> Information received from Maree Shirota through email correspondence.

<sup>155</sup> Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, p. 722.

married Elizabeth Woodville, an English widow.<sup>156</sup> Despite these changes, it is clear that the Yorkist Editor held similar views regarding women as the Roll-maker, and that these intrusions had not altered his view of a women's role in public affairs.

The Yorkist Editor wished to prove that Edward IV had a legitimate claim to the throne, and he did so partially through the inclusion of women on the genealogical tree. As a contemporary wrote at the time of Henry VI's rule, 'our king is stupid and out of his mind, he does not rule but is ruled'.<sup>157</sup> Anthony Pollard later stated that 'the very nature of the office of the monarch was questioned' at this time.<sup>158</sup> Allan noted that acceptance of Edward's rule would have been largely based on whether or not order and good governance were restored, but that he still required, to retain favour as king, 'unimpeachable claims of hereditary right'.<sup>159</sup> In this period it was recognised that the king-subject relationship was symbiotic, with the king requiring the support of Parliament.<sup>160</sup> Royal genealogies were commissioned partly to achieve this aim, and asserted the legitimacy of a dynasty or king.<sup>161</sup> As Oliver de Laborderie noted, this was particularly the case when the legitimacy of the king's claim to the throne could be questioned.<sup>162</sup> De Laborderie noted that the legitimacy defence was the reason behind the many royal genealogies created during the reign of Edward IV.<sup>163</sup> As such, the rolls acted as a form of political propaganda. Henry VI, whom Edward IV deposed, claimed his right to rule through John of Gaunt, Edward III's third son.<sup>164</sup> Edward IV instead claimed his right through Edward III's second son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Lionel's daughter Philippa married Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March. The Original Scribe had included Philippa as the daughter of Lionel and the wife of the Earl of March. This is in keeping with the rest of the Roll which saw the siblings of rulers, and occasionally their offspring, being included from the time of Henry III. The Yorkist Editor, however, expanded and highlighted Philippa's role, increasing her importance on the Roll, as it was through her offspring that the Yorkist Editor traced the line

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<sup>156</sup> J. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 58.

<sup>157</sup> An excerpt from a letter from Richard Neville, earl of Warwick to a Papal legate (~1460) [no further information provided] cited in K. Dockray, 'The Origins of the Wars of the Roses', in A. Pollard (ed.), *The Wars of the Roses*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995, p. 67.

<sup>158</sup> A. Pollard, 'Introduction: Society, Politics and the Wars of the Roses', in A. Pollard (ed.), *The Wars of the Roses*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995, p. 14.

<sup>159</sup> Allan, *Patronage, pedigree and power in later medieval England*, p. 171.

<sup>160</sup> J. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 16.

<sup>161</sup> De Laborderie, *Broken Lines*, p. 54.

<sup>162</sup> De Laborderie, p. 54.

<sup>163</sup> De Laborderie, p. 54.

<sup>164</sup> Allan, *Patronage, pedigree and power in later medieval England*, p. 172.

of 'rightful' succession through to Edward IV.<sup>165</sup> This can be seen explicitly on the Roll as the Yorkist Editor added text next to Philippa's roundel which stated that her eldest son, Roger, 'was at that time the next heir apparent of England and France', due to the fact he was Lionel's grandson. Roger had four children, and all but one, Ann, died childless. Ann's son Richard, the Duke of York, was the father of Edward IV. Therefore, the inclusion of Ann, a new addition on the Roll by the Yorkist Editor, was instrumental in proving this direct line of succession. There were other ways that Edward IV could claim his right to rule. For example, the wife of Richard, Duke of York was a descendent of John of Gaunt.<sup>166</sup> Yet the Yorkist Editor chose only to portray the link to Ann, presumably seeing it as the most direct and efficient way of demonstrating the heritage. The Yorkist Editor was able to add this information to the Roll as, prior to the Mortimer tree, the succession and heritage of Edward IV was the same as it was for Henry VI. Just as the Lancastrian kings could boast mythical heritage, so too could those from the House of York. Overall, it appears that, as seen with the Roll-maker, the Yorkist Editor was seeking to include women who showed that the king had a legitimate claim to the throne.

The Yorkist Editor also used women in his additions to the Canterbury Roll to establish as fact that Edward IV bore a claim to other kingdoms, reminiscent of the Roll-maker's aim concerning Henry VI. By establishing stronger dynastic links, the Editor could assert that Edward IV had an improved claim to the throne. This was necessary as it followed depositions and weak rulership seen in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To achieve this end, Isabella, the daughter of King Pedro of Spain and the heiress of Castile, was added to the Roll. Her marriage to Edmund Langley, Duke of York, resulted in the birth of Edward, Duke of York, and Richard, Earl of Cambridge. Through Richard's first marriage to Anna, he begot Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV. Through this chain of succession, therefore, Edward IV could claim to be, as the Yorkist Editor put it, the 'true heir of ... England and France, Castile and Leon'.<sup>167</sup> Edward IV's legitimacy was also expanded through the Yorkist Editor's inclusion of the words 'Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, begot Gladunddny', above his addition of the Mortimer family tree. This link is not explicitly explained on the Roll, but it is clear the connection concerned the Mortimers due to its placement, and the Yorkist Editor presumably

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<sup>165</sup> Alison Allan drew a similar conclusion in Allan, *Patronage, pedigree and power in later medieval England*, p. 172.

<sup>166</sup> M. Hicks, *Edward IV*, London, Arnold, 2004, pp. 11-13.

<sup>167</sup> Wall, *Handbook to the Maude Roll*, §102.

supposed that the audience would understand the connection. Ralph Mortimer married Gladunddny, or Gladys Ddu, the daughter of Llewellyn the Great, prince of Gwynedd (1172-1240).<sup>168</sup> The extinction of this line in 1378 meant that the Welsh title transferred to the Mortimers, and, therefore, to Edward IV, their descendent.<sup>169</sup>

In the midst of the Wars of the Roses, and the deposition of Henry VI, Edward IV would have wanted to portray that he held a legitimate and powerful claim to the throne. Through including marriage links to other countries, and detailing royal offspring, the Yorkist Editor was able to enhance Edward IV's status at a time that the monarchy was experiencing political instability. The Yorkist Editor worked in a way reminiscent of the Roll-maker, asserting that legitimacy and stabilisation could be expected during the reign of the contemporary king. Through the inclusion of women, the Yorkist Editor was able to prove a case for the person he believed to be the true king.

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Despite the political changes that were occurring during the time that the Roman Numerals Editor and the Yorkist Editor worked, the societal shift towards accepting women more generally into the public sphere was not recognised by either of the editors. Both are revealed as holding the same view as the Roll-maker, namely that women were inferior to men, and their usefulness relied on helping the king to rule successfully, and to provide male heirs. Despite the similarities in view, the annotation and inclusion of women featured on the Canterbury Roll were approached differently by the Roman Numerals Editor and the Yorkist Editor. The differing approaches were the result of personal agendas. The Yorkist Editor approached the inclusion of women in a very similar fashion to the Roll-maker. The women that were selected aided the Yorkist Editor's attempt to prove the legitimacy of Edward IV's claim following the deposition of Henry VI in the Wars of the Roses. The difference was the Yorkist Editor's explicit use of women to draw genealogical links to prove his point. The Roll-maker, in contrast, alluded to women's involvement in this regard in the marginal text, but did not include it specifically in the genealogical tree. A simple explanation for this shift could be that at a glance, the Roll's viewer could see Edward IV's legitimate claim to the throne, rather

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<sup>168</sup> Hicks, *Edward IV*, p. 16.

<sup>169</sup> Allan, *Patronage, pedigree and power in later medieval England*, p. 176.

than having the “proof” hidden in the marginal text. The main job of the Roman Numeral’s Editor was also to cater to the Roll’s viewer, by helping a new audience to understand the Roll by translating the regnal years to a more familiar language. However, the Roman Numeral’s Editor’s attitude to women is also apparent through the numerals in the roundels that he fails to translate, thus drawing the eye of the new reader along the succession lines he endorses. In doing so, it is apparent the Roman Numeral’s Editor also believed that a woman’s place in society was to aid the king in his successful rule. In the case of the both the editors the overall theme of the agendas was to promote the legitimacy of the king who ruled at the time of their work.

## Conclusion

The majority of the women that feature on the Canterbury Roll were included as they helped legitimise the claims to the throne made by Henry VI, and later, Edward IV. The early-to-mid fifteenth century witnessed significant political upheaval, seen, in particular, with the Wars of the Roses. As a result, kings wished to demonstrate they had a legitimate claim to the throne, in an attempt to restore stability to the monarchy. This is particularly the case as while a king in the fifteenth century was still recognised as receiving the right to rule by God, he also required the support of his people. Royal women were used to support this aim. In the medieval period, a queen's expected role was, amongst other things, to support her husband, be subservient, and bear and raise children. Women were included on the Roll if they conformed to this expected stereotype. They were also included if they did not conform, which the Roll-maker then linked to periods of instability or immorality.

This dissertation focussed on three contributors to the Roll, namely, the Original Scribe, the Roman Numerals Editor, and the Yorkist Editor. One avenue left unexplored was the Margaret Editor. Further work on the Canterbury Roll could include an examination of who the Margaret Editor was, and why he saw the need to add Margaret of York's title almost twenty years after the last edit on the Roll.<sup>170</sup> It may be, for example, that the Roll ended up associated with Margaret's household. With this information, it may be possible to compare the place of women in society twenty years later than the time period examined in dissertation. This could be particularly interesting, as despite the fact that women had begun to gradually re-enter the political sphere during the Wars of the Roses, the Roll-maker and editors examined in this dissertation maintained the belief that a woman's place was in the private sphere. In the case of the Roman Numerals Editor, this is apparent through the fact that Roman numerals were only added to the roundel of the woman whose son became king. He ignored, for instance, Cordella, who ruled the entire kingdom, independently, for five years. The Yorkist Editor had a similar political aim to that of the Roll-maker, which was to show that the contemporary king was the true and rightful heir to the throne. The inclusion of women's information in the roundels by the Yorkist Editor as opposed to being buried in the marginal text by the Roll-maker, made their involvement and necessity much clearer. Overall, women, despite the

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<sup>170</sup> For a comprehensive overview of Margaret, see the biography written by Christine Weightman: Weightman, *Margaret of York*.

societal changes that were beginning to occur, were represented on the Roll as being secondary to men, and were included in order to support the legitimacy of both Henry VI's and Edward IV's respective claims to the throne.



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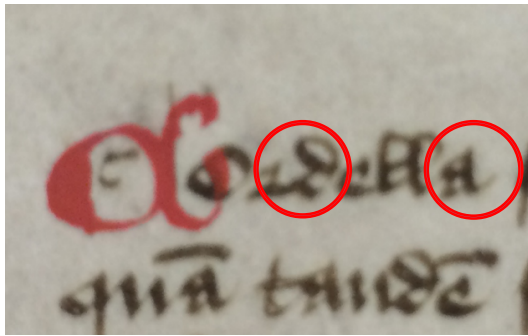
## **Appendix A: The Four Hands on the Canterbury Roll**

There are four hands identified on the Canterbury Roll, which I labelled the Original Scribe, the Roman Numerals Editor, the Yorkist Editor, and the Margaret Editor.

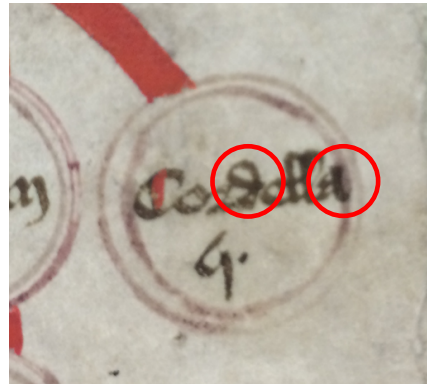
### **The Original Scribe**

The Original Scribe wrote the majority of the Roll, until Henry VI. He did so using material collated by the original Roll-maker. Further examination of Arabic numerals usage in England could illuminate who the Original Scribe was, and help to place the Roll's construction location. In doing so, this could shed light onto precisely why and for who, the Roll was constructed.

The Original Scribe's script was able to be identified through a number of ways. First, the script in the roundel matches the marginal commentary. See figs 1, 2, and 3, for the similarities between brush-strokes, colour of the ink used, and letter and numeral formation, between the Hindu-Arabic numerals and the roundel text. Figs 1 and 2, show a comparison of the 'd' and 'a' in Cordella's name. Second, the same scribal hand wrote the Hindu-Arabic numerals, denoting years ruled, which feature in the majority of the succession roundels. The Yorkist Editor's work did not contain Hindu-Arabic numerals, exhibited in fig. 4. which was the only roundel added by the Yorkist Editor. The Yorkist Editor wrote in a different hand, as seen by the difference in brush-stroke, ink colour, and letter and numeral foundation. This is exhibited in a comparison between fig. 4, and figs 1, 2, 3. See figs 3 and 4 specifically for a comparison in the shape of the 'x'.



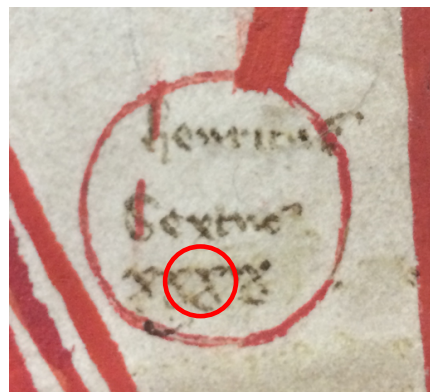
**Fig. 1.** *Cordella's name in the marginal text, written by the Original Scribe.*



**Fig. 2.** *Cordella's roundel featuring name and denoted regnal years written by the Original Scribe.*



**Fig. 3.** *Leir's name and Hindu-Arabic regnal years written by the Original Scribe.*

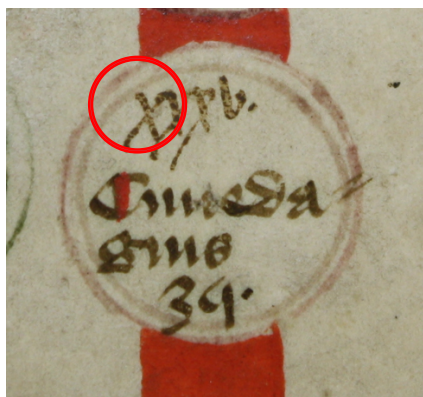


**Fig. 4.** *Henry VI's roundel, added by the Yorkist Editor, features no Hindu-Arabic numeral, and has a distinctive 'x' shape.*

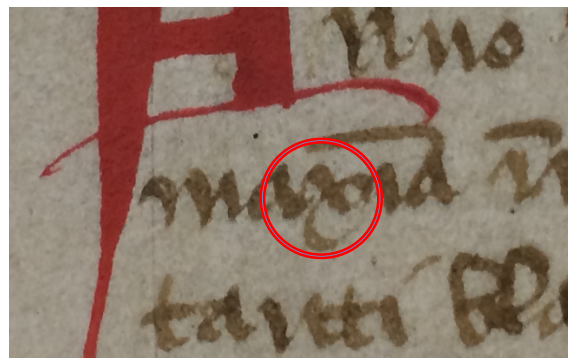
### **The Roman Numerals Editor**

The Roman Numerals Editor added Roman numerals to the majority of the roundels that feature on the central line of succession. He worked sometime between 1433 and 1461, the period between the Original Scribe's end-date, and the earliest date the Yorkist Editor could have worked. This date is unable to be narrowed at present. These conveyed length of rule for a different audience. The Roman Numerals Editor was able to be identified through a number of key features. First, the 'x' shape differs to the other scripts featured on the Roll. Second, the

Roman numerals do not feature on the manuscript which most closely relates to the Canterbury Roll, Marshall 135R.<sup>171</sup> The close relation suggested a likelihood that the rolls were constructed in the same workshop, as Allan suggested was the case with Yorkist manuscripts which were included in her study.<sup>172</sup> This suggests the Roman numerals were added following the Canterbury Roll's construction, once the Roll left the original workshop. Notably, the Hindu-Arabic numerals *do* feature on the family of rolls to which the Canterbury Roll belongs.<sup>173</sup> There is one exception to this rule, which is the Roman numerals that feature in Henry VI's roundel, an addition by the Yorkist Editor. This was clearly done in the Yorkist Editor's hand. For comparisons of the different 'x' of each of these hands, see figs 4, 5 and 6.



**Fig. 5.** The 'x' of the Roman Numerals Editor



**Fig. 6.** The 'x' of the Original Scribe

### The Yorkist Editor

The Yorkist Editor worked on the Roll between 1461 and 1466.<sup>174</sup> While the Original Scribe appears to have written in English Cursiva Documentary Script S. XIV (Cursiva Anglicana)<sup>175</sup>, the Yorkist Editor more closely resembles Secretary Cursive Media.<sup>176</sup> See fig. 7. for a comparison between the scripts of the Original Scribe and the Yorkist Editor.

<sup>171</sup> My thanks to Maree Shirota for providing me with this information through email correspondence.

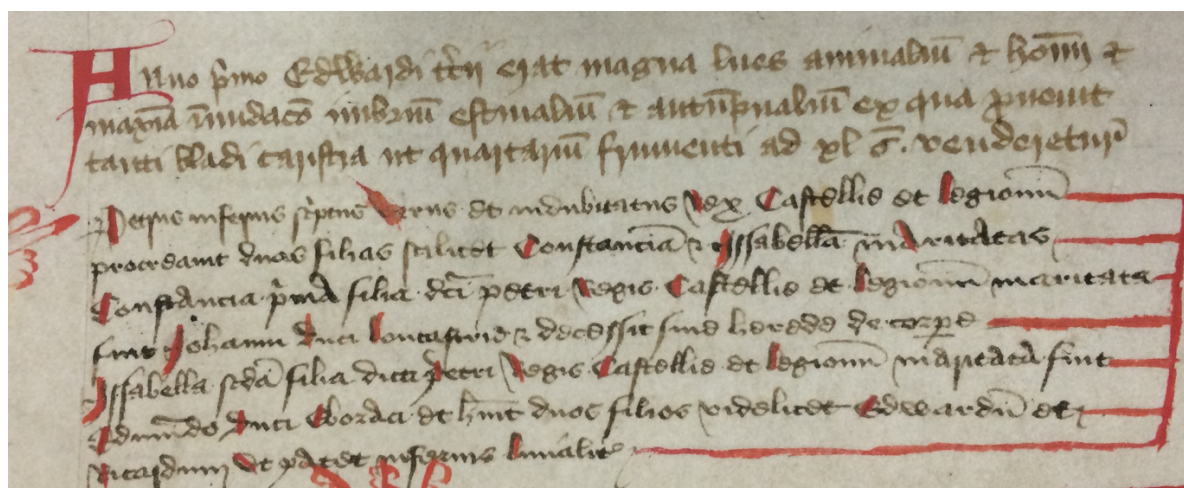
<sup>172</sup> Allan, *Patronage, pedigree and power in later medieval England*, p. 174.

<sup>173</sup> Once again, my thanks to Shirota for this information.

<sup>174</sup> Rouse, *Migrations*, p. 110.

<sup>175</sup> M. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 2002, p. 96.

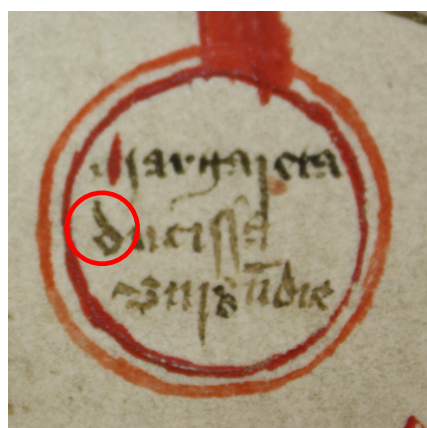
<sup>176</sup> Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, p. 106.



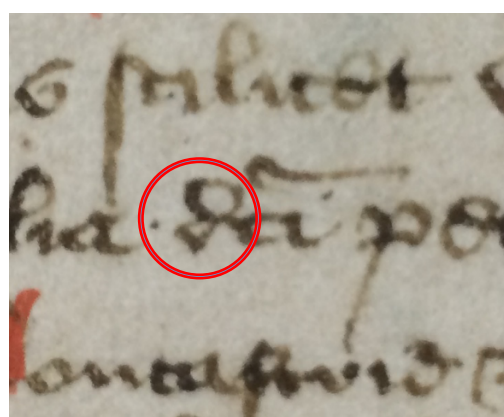
**Fig. 7.** The difference between the script of the Original Scribe (above), and the script of the Yorkist Editor (below).

### The Margaret Editor

The Margaret Editor worked sometime after 1483,<sup>177</sup> and added Margaret of York's title of Duchess of Burgundy and the years of rule for Edward IV. This script is identifiable, as again, the style differs from the others featured on the Roll. See figs 8, 9, and 10, for, in particular, a comparison of the letter 'd' between the identified scripts. The difference is also apparent through the variance in the shades of ink seen in Margaret's roundel, seen, for example, in fig. 8, which suggests a passing of time in between the two entries.

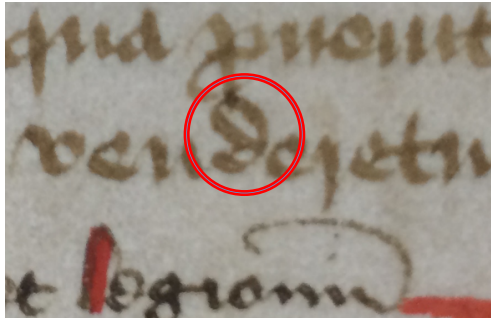


**Fig. 8.** The 'd' in the Margaret Editor's script.



**Fig. 9.** The 'd' in the Yorkist Editor's script.

<sup>177</sup> Jones, *Treasures of the University of Canterbury Library*, p. 234, n. 6.



**Fig. 9.** The 'd' in the Original Scribe's script.

The Margaret Editor wrote in what appears to be English Cursive Documentary Script S. XIII in (Cursiva Anglicana).<sup>178</sup> If this is the case, the editor wrote in a thirteenth-century script, in the fifteenth century, which reinforces the idea that the Roll may have shifted from a modern urban workshop to a more provincial location where an older style of writing was still practiced. In contrast, the Original Scribe appears to have written in a fourteenth-century style, English Cursiva Documentary Script S. XIV (Cursiva Anglicana).<sup>179</sup>

<sup>178</sup> Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>179</sup> Brown, p. 96.



## Appendix B: A comparison of the Roman Numerals and Arabic Numerals featured on the Canterbury Roll

A table of all of the names on the central succession line, comparing the inclusion of Roman and Arabic numerals. Names marked with an asterisk are given Roman or Arabic numerals, but did not feature on the central succession line, instead appearing as offshoots.

Name on succession line	Roman numerals	Arabic numerals
Noah		
Japhet		
Jenan		
Cethnius		
Ciprius		
Cretus		
Celius		
Saturnus		
Jupiter		
Dardanus		
Erictonius		
Trojus		
Assaracus		
Capis		
Anchises		
Eneas		
Ascanius		
Silvius		
Brutus		
Locrine	x	10
Maddan	xl	40
Mempricius	xx	20
Ebranc	lx	60
Brutus Greenshield	xii	12
Leyl	xxv	25
Runhyrbras	xxxix	39
Bladud	xxvi	26
Leir	lx	60
Gonorilla*		3
Morganus*		2
Regan	iii	3
Cordella*	v	5
Cunedag	xxxv	35
Rivlan or Rivallo	xix	19
Gurgust	vii	7
Sisill	xv	15
Iago		
Kymarc	ix	9
Gorboduc		

Porrex		
Dunwillo or Molimitius	xl	40
Belin	xxiv	24
Bren		5
Gurgwynt Bartrut		
Guthelin		
Sissill	xv	15
Kymar	xi	11
Morwid	x	10
Gorbonian	vii	7
Archigallo	x	10
Elidure the Pious		
Peredur	vii	7
Vigen	vii	7
Regyn	vi	11
Morgan	xxi	21
Eynaun	vi	6
Idwall	vii	7
Run	ix	9
Geront	iii	3
Catell	viii	8
Choyll	xi	11
Porrex	ii	2
Cheryn	xxi	21
Eldad	vi	6
Fulgent*		11
Androgius*		19
Vrian	l	50
Eliud	xl	40
Cledanc	xii	12
Cloten	x	10
Gurgunt	vii	7
Merian	v	5
Blethin		1
Caap	xi	11
Cen	xix	19
Sisill	xiii	13
Bledgabred	xv	15
Archinayll*		2
Eldoll	xxv	25
Rodyon	vii	7
Ryderg		
Sallyttrus Penisellie		
Pyr	xii	12
Capoyr	viii	8
Diwell	xxviii	28
Ely		
Cassibelian	xii	12



Lud*		21
Tenant	xxiii	23
Kymbelin	x	10
Guiderus	xiii	13
Arviragus		11
Marius	xxix	29
Choyl	xl	40
King Lucius	lxvii	67
Severus the Roman		
Gethas		
Basianus*	xii	12
Carautius	vii	7
Allectus Romanus	iii	3
Asclepiodotus	x	10
Choyll	xxx	30
Constantius the Roman	xi	11
Constantine the Great	xxx	30
Octonius	lv	55
Maximian the Great	v	5
Gratianus the Roman		7
Constantine	x	10
Utherpendragon		
Vortiger	xxiii	23
Vortimer		6
Aurelius Ambrosius	xvii	17
Utherpendragon his Brother		
Arthur	xxix	29
Constantine the Third		4
Constans		3
Vortipor		4
Maylgo		5
Caretic		
Ida	xii	12
Ella	xxx	30
Edelfrid		5
Oswald		9
Oswy	xx	20
Egfred	xv	15
Alfrid	xx	20
Offred	xi	11
Kenred		2
Osric	xi	11
Cedwulf		8
Eadbert		21
Mel-Edelwold		6
Alred		8
Edelred		3

Alfwold	x	10
Efred		1
Ardulf		9
Elred	xviii	18
Hengist	xxxi	31
Edwi	xxiv	24
Ethelbert	lvi	56
Ethelbald	xxiv	24
Artenbruth	xxvi	26
Lothair the Good		13
Eadric		1
Widred and Wibert		6
Switrec	xxxiii	33
Eadbrit	xxii	22
Adelbrith	xii	12
Egfred	xxxiv	34
Eadbrichpren		3
Cudred		9
Eldred	xviii	18
Serdic		7
Celdric	xli	41
Cedwulf	xiii	14
Kyngils	xxxi	31
Cenwald	xxxi	31
Escwin		2
Kenwyn		9
Cedwalla		2
Ine	xxxvii	37
Athelard		9
Cudred	xxvi	26
Sigebert		1
Wynwulf	xxxvi	36
Britrith	xvi	16
Edelred		19
Kenred		9
Ceolred		8
Adelbold	xli	41
Beornred		1
Offa	xxxix	39
Egfred		1
Kenwulf		26
Cealwulf		3
Beornulf		1
Ludecen		1
Wilaf		1
Ella		20
Egbert	xvii xxvi	37 years 26 months
Ethelwulf	xviii	18

Ethelbald		5
Ethelbert		5
Ethelred		6
Alfred	xxx	30
Edward	xxvi	26
Athelstan	xiii	14
Edmund		
Edred	x	10
Edwin		5
Edgar	xvi	16
Edward the Martyr		5
Ethelred		
Edmund Ironside		
Canute		
Harold Harefoot		
Hardy Canute		
St. Edward the Confessor		
Harold		9 months
William the Conqueror	xxi	21
William Rufus		14
Henry I	xxxv	35
William		
Stephen of Blois	xix	19
Henry II	xxxv	35
Richard I	x	10
John	xvii	17
Henry III	lvii	57
Edward I	xxxiv	34
Edward II	xx	20
Edward III	lii	5 [sic]**
Richard II	xxiii	2
Henry IV	xiii	14
Henry V	x	10
Edward IV	xxiii	23

\*\* It is assumed.



## Appendix C: The Women on the Canterbury Roll

Below is a categorised list, in order of appearance, of the women that appear on the Canterbury Roll. The italicised sections denote the Yorkist Editor's additions; the rest is the work of the Original Scribe.

Name	Position	Representation	Husband	Lineage	Offspring	MS1 explanation
Maia	Daughter of the King of Atlas	Commentary	Jupiter		Mercurius	'Jupiter by Maia, daughter of the King of Atlas, begat Mercurius'
Electra	Daughter of the King of Atlas	Commentary	Jupiter		Dardanus	'[Jupiter] by Electra, daughter of the same King, he begat Dardanus'
Innogenia	Wife of Brutus	Commentary	Brutus	Daughter of Prandesius, King of the Geti		"Having married Innogenia, daughter of Prandesius"
Cordella	Queen	Commentary and Roundel	Aganippus King of the Franks		Nxo	'but Cordella because she replied to her father "as much as thou hast, so much art thou worth, and so much I love thee" so was married to the King.' 'Cordella the daughter of King Leyr reigned over the Britons five years, whom the sons of her sisters imprisoned at length, viz: Morganus and Cunedag.'
Regan	Daughter of King Leir	Commentary and Roundel	Henninus Duke of Cornwall		Cunedag	'Leyr gave the second to Henninus Duke of Cornwall'
Gonarilla	Daughter of King Leir	Commentary and Roundel	Magloninus Duke of Albany			'Leyr gave the first to Magloninus Duke of Albany'

Marcia	Queen	Commentary	King Guthelin			‘This Guthelin whose origin is unknown reigned ten years and had a wife named Marcia who according to some reigned after him twelve years; and this king first made in this kingdom the laws which the Britons call the Marcian which Alfred afterwards translated and called the Martian Laws’
Gewysia	Daughter of Arviragus (King Guiderus’ brother)	Commentary	Claudius			‘Arviragus gave Claudius his daughter Gewysia in marriage, therefore Claudius, to commemorate such great nuptial ceremonies, built the city which he called Claudiocester [Gloucester]’
Elena	Queen	Commentary	Constantius the Roman	Daughter of Coyl	Constantinus the Great	‘Constantius the Roman married Elena daughter of Coyl, by whom he begot Constantinus the Great’ ‘... gave in marriage his daughter Cenica to Maximianus son of Leoninus the brother of Elena, together with his kingdom’
Rowen	Queen? Stepmother	Commentary	Vortigerno?	Daughter of Hengist		‘he married Rowen the daughter of Hengist’ ‘Rowen, his stepmother, killed him by poison and again summoned the Saxons’

Frealaf	Wife of Ango-Saxon God	Commentary and Roundel	Wife of Woden			“From this woden nearly every race of the barbarous nations has taken its origin; him the saxons thought to be a god, on account of the rapid multiplication of their race and to him they consecrated with perpetual rites the fourth day in the week, Wednesday, and to his wife Frealaf, Friday.
Cenica	Daughter of Octanius (King)	Commentary	Daughter of King Octanius, then wife of Maximianus son of Leoninus the brother of Elena, together with his kingdom.			“This Octanius, Duke of the Gewessi, having obtained the Crown, but not by descent, gave in marriage his daughter Cenica to Maximianus son of Leoninus the brother of Elena, together with his Kingdom.
Igerna	Not clear	Commentary	Wife of Gorloys Duke of Cornwall			‘he begot Arthur by Igerna’
Guenweber	Queen	Commentary	Arthur	Roman		‘he married Gwenweber who was of Roman race’
Gwalia	Queen	Commentary				‘the Britons now being deprived of the sovereignty of the land are called Wallenses [Welsh] from their leader Wallo or from their queen Gwalia’
“noble daughters”	Daughters of King Alfred	Commentary and Roundel				‘of these daughters one was Empress of the Romans, two were queens, one very

						virtuous, both joined in marriage to English nobles'
"Noble daughters"	Daughters of King Athelstan	Commentary and Roundel				'these daughters he married to nobles of England and Normandy'
"Noble daughters"	Daughters of Edward the Elder	Commentary				'this Edward called the elder having sons and noble daughters'
Unnamed (Aelfthryth)		Commentary				'Edward the Martyr – when he had returned on a certain day from hunting and was thirsty, a cup was given to him in a secret chamber by his stepmother and while he was eagerly drinking a woman stabbed him with a knife, and thus he was treacherously slain'
Emma	Queen	Commentary and Roundel	1 - Ethelred 2 - Canute	Duke Richard of Normandy	1 – Edward the Confessor 2 - Hardycanute	'Ethelred ... begot ... Edmund Ironside by Emma, a Norman lady' [sic] 'Ethelred married Emma daughter of Duke of Richard of Normandy, whereupon puffed up by pride he sent letters secretly and treacherously to every town and ordered that all Danes who were then peaceably living in England should be slain on one day and at one hour on St. Brice's day by



						word or by fire' '[Canute] married Emma the widow of Ethelred, by whom he had a son Hardycanute ...' 'Hardicanute, a strong, active and swift warrior, brother of Edward by Emma ...'
Mother of Harold Harefoot	Concubine	Commentary	N/A	Daughter of Count Aselm		'This Harold who was called Harefoot ... born of a concubine, daughter of Count Godwin'
Godwina		Commentary	Edward the Confessor	Daughter of Count Godwin of Windsor		'he married Godwina, daughter of Count Godwin at Windsor in the 12 <sup>th</sup> year of his reign. Godwin was choked for his treachery, a crumb of bread being his slayer as he was eating.'
Margaret	Queen of Scotland	Roundel	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Matilda	Margaret's daughter	Roundel	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Margaret	Matilda's daughter	Roundel	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Matilda	Queen	Commentary and Roundel	Henry I			'marrying Matilda daughter of Margaret Queen of Scotland granddaughter of Edward'
"A daughter"	Daughter of William Adelin	Roundel	N/A	N/A	N/A	'In the 20 <sup>th</sup> year of his reign Robert and William his sons, and a daughter were drowned

						when returning from Normandy.
Meredith	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Welsh line	N/A	N/A
Empress Matilda	Mother	Commentary	Geoffrey Plantagenet Count of Anjou		Henry II	<p>Prophecy fulfilment – ‘and the stock was cut off until the time of Henry II the son of the Empress, according to a divine prophecy revealed to him...’ and ‘married Matilda, joining together the royal families of the Normans and of the English making of two one. It bore fruit when our Henry, born of her, was consecrated’</p> <p>‘[Stephen was] accepted as King by the English and in spite of the oath of fidelity which they had made [on behalf] of the son of the King or of the Empress’</p> <p>‘in the same year the Empress came to England and henceforth disorder increased in the land. In the 6<sup>th</sup> year of his reign King Stephen was captured at Lincoln by the Earl of Chester and taken to Bristol to the Empress, and in the same year he was liberated in exchange for the brother of the Empress’</p>

						'Henry the Second, son of the Empress Matilda ... succeeded'
Matilda	Duchess of Saxony and Sardis	Roundel	Henry Duke of Saxony	Henry II's daughter	Otto the Emperor	N/A
Eleanor	Queen of Castille	Roundel		Henry II's daughter		N/A
Unnamed	Countess of Toulouse	Roundel		Henry II's daughter		N/A
Hadwisa	Queen	Commentary	John	Of Gloucester		'repudiating the wife he had married before'
Isabella	Queen	Commentary	John	Daughter of the Count of Angoulême		'married Isabella ...'
Isabella	The Empress	Roundel	Frederick	John's daughter	N/A	In roundel: "the Empress wife of Frederick"
Eleanor	Countess of Pembroke	Roundel	N/A	John's daughter	N/A	In roundel: "Countess of Pembroke"
Joan	Queen of Scotland	Roundel	N/A	John's daughter	N/A	In roundel: "Queen of Scotland"
Katherine	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Henry III's daughter	N/A	In roundel: "who died young"
Beatrix	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Henry III's daughter	N/A	N/A

Margaret	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Henry III's daughter	N/A	N/A
Eleanor		Roundel	First wife of Edward I	N/A	Eleanor; Joan; Joan; Henry; Margaret; Edward II; Elizabeth; Mary; Elizabeth; Henry; Beatrix; Blanche	N/A
Margaret	N/A	Roundel	Second wife of Edward I	N/A	Thomas Earl Marshall; Edmund Earl of Kent	N/A
Eleanor	Countess of Bath	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Joan	Countess of Gloucester	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Joan	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Margaret	Duchess of Brabant	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A

Margaret	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Elizabeth	Countess of Hereford	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Mary	Nun at Amesbury	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Elizabeth	Countess of Honiland	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Beatrix	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Blanche	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward I	N/A	N/A
Isabella	Queen	Commentary and Roundel	Edward II	Daughter of Philip the Fair	Edward III	'the Lady Isabella, Queen of England, who, while her father was living, bore a son, our Lord Edward the Third' In roundel: "Daughter of Philip the Fair"
Eleanor	Countess of Guelderland	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward II	N/A	In roundel: "Countess of Guelderland"
Joan	Queen of Scotland	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward II	N/A	In roundel: "Queen of Scotland"

<i>Isabella</i>	<i>Heiress of Spain</i>	<i>Commentary and Roundel</i>	<i>Edmund Duke of York (brother of Edward III)</i>	<i>Daughter of Peter, King of Castile and Leon</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>'Isabella the second daughter of the said Peter, King of Castile and Leon, was married to Edmund Duke of York and had tow sons, viz: Edward and Richard, as appears below the line'</i>
<i>Constantia</i>	<i>Sister of above</i>	<i>Commentary and Roundel</i>	<i>John, Duke of Lancaster (son of Edward III)</i>	<i>Daughter of Peter, King of Castile and Leon</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>'Constantia, the first daughter of the said Peter, King of Castile and Leon, was married to John, Duke of Lancaster and died without heir of her body' In second roundel: 'Constance, second wife, daughter of King Pedro of Spain died without heir'</i>
Isabella	Countess of Bedford	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward III	N/A	In roundel: 'Countess of Bedford'
Joan	Queen of Spain	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward III	N/A	In roundel: 'Queen of Spain'
<i>Ann</i>	<i>Heiress of Ulster</i>	<i>Roundel</i>	<i>Lionel Duke of Clarence</i>	<i>Daughter in Law of Edward III</i>	<i>Philippa</i>	<i>N/A</i>
Blanche	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward III	N/A	N/A
Mary	Duchess of Brabant	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward III	N/A	In roundel: 'Duchess of Brabant'
Margaret	Countess of Pembroke	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Edward III	N/A	In roundel 'Countess of Pembroke'
Philippa	Daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence	Roundel	Earl of March (Edmund Mortimer)	Daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence	N/A	In roundel: 'Married to the Earl of March' Next to roundel: <i>This Roger,</i>

	and Anne, heiress of Ulster			(Edward III's son)		<i>eldest son of Lady Philippa, was at that time the next heir apparent of England and France and was proclaimed and received [as such] throughout the whole English nation, and he had two sons and two daughters, as appear below. Next to roundel: "This Roger second son of aforesaid Philippa, died before said Edmund..."</i>
Ann	Wife of Richard, Earl of Cambridge	Roundel	First wife of Richard, Earl of Cambridge	N/A	Richard, Duke of York and Earl Marshall substituted (as heir)	In roundel: "first wife"
Maud	Wife of Richard, Earl of Cambridge	Roundel	Second wife of Richard, Earl of Cambridge	"of Clifford"	N/A	In roundel: "Lady Maud of Clifford, second wife"
Katherine	Queen of Spain	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster (Edward III's son)	N/A	In roundel: "Queen of Spain"
Anna	Countess of Stafford	Roundel	Wife of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester	"of Stafford"	Philippa; Earl of Stafford;	In roundel: 'Countess of Stafford'

					Ann Countess of Huntingdon; Henry Earl of Ewe; William; Thomas; John; Ann; Margaret	
Philippa	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester	N/A	N/A
Ann	Countess of Huntingdon	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester	N/A	N/A
Ann	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester	N/A	N/A
Margaret	N/A	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester	N/A	N/A
Blanche	N/A	Roundel	First wife of John, Duke of Lancaster	N/A	John; Edward; Philippa; Elizabeth; Henry IV; John	In roundel: 'Lady Blanche first wife'
Philippa	Queen of Portugal	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster and Blanche	Henry; Alexander; Pedro; Edward	N/A



Elizabeth	Countess of Huntingdon	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster and Blanche	N/A	N/A
Katherine Sanford	Wife of John, Duke of Lancaster	Roundel	Third wife of John, Duke of Lancaster	N/A	John; Joan; Henry; Thomas	In roundel: “Katherine Sanford (third wife)”
Joan	Queen of Scotland	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of John, Earl of Somerset	N/A	In roundel: “Joan Queen of Scotland”
Margaret	Countess of Devon	Roundel	N/A	Daughter of John, Earl of Somerset	N/A	In roundel: “Margaret Countess of Devon”
Blanche	The Empress	Roundel	N/A	Henry IV’s daughter	N/A	In roundel: “Blanche the Empress”
Philippa	Queen of Denmark	Roundel	N/A	Henry IV’s daughter	N/A	In roundel: “Philippa Queen of Denmark”
<i>Ann</i>	<i>Daughter of Roger, Earl of March</i>	<i>Roundel</i>	<i>Earl of Cambridge</i>	<i>Daughter of Roger, Earl of March</i>	<i>Richard, Duke of York, heir of the Kingdom of England, France and Spain; Elizabeth</i>	<i>In roundel: “Ann, married to the Earl of Cambridge”</i>
<i>Alice</i>	<i>Daughter of Roger, Earl of March</i>	<i>Roundel</i>	<i>Edward Lord de Bohun</i>	<i>Daughter of Roger, Earl of March</i>	<i>“died without heir”</i>	<i>In roundel: “Alice married Edward Lord de Bohun, died without heir”</i>
<i>Elizabeth</i>	<i>Daughter of Ann and the Earl of Cambridge</i>	<i>Roundel</i>	<i>Lord Bouchier</i>	<i>Daughter of Ann and the Earl of Cambridge</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>In roundel: “Elizabeth married to Lord Bouchier”</i>

<i>Cecilia</i>	<i>Wife of Richard Duke of York</i>	<i>Roundel</i>	<i>Richard Duke of York</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>Ann; Elizabeth; Margaret; Edward IV; Edmund; George; Richard.</i>	
<i>Ann</i>	<i>Duchess of Oxford</i>	<i>Roundel</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>Daughter of Cecilia and Richard the Duke of York</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>In roundel: “Ann, Duchess of Oxford”</i>
<i>Elizabeth</i>	<i>Duchess of Suffolk</i>	<i>Roundel</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>Daughter of Cecilia and Richard the Duke of York</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>In roundel: “Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk”</i>
<i>Margaret</i>	<i>Duchess of Burgundy</i>	<i>Roundel</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>Daughter of Cecilia and Richard the Duke of York</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>In roundel: “Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy”</i>

